

Message Text

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APPROVED BY EUR - MR. LAINGEN

S/S - MR. ORTIZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, SP

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM AREILZA TO THE SECRETARY ON BASE
NEGOTIATIONS.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER SENT FROM AREILZA TO THE
SECRETARY THROUGH MCCLOSKEY ON JANUARY 13;

EVER SINCE MY RETURN TO MADRID, BACK FROM PARIS, AFTER
THE INTERVIEW WE HELD AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY ON THE
AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 16, I HAVE BEEN DEALING WITH THE
SUBJECT OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, THE
GENERAL FEATURES AND PHILOSOPHY OF WHICH HAVE ALREADY
BEEN DRAFTED IN THE DOCUMENT THAT WAS INITIALED AT
WASHINGTON ON OCTOBER 4, 1976, BY YOURSELF AND MY
PREDECESSOR MINISTER CORTINA.

BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON, I EXPLAINED
AGAIN TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN MADRID, MR. STABLER,
THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF OUR PROPOSAL SO AS TO RAPIDLY
ARRIVE AT A FINAL WORDING THAT SUITS TO BOTH PARTIES AND,
THEREFORE, ALLOWS THE SIGNATURE OF THE LEGAL INSTRUMENT
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ON THE LAST DAYS OF THIS MONTH OF JANUARY, IN SUCH MANNER

AND PLACE AS WE HAD TENTATIVELY AGREED UPON IN PARIS.

THOSE POINTS, WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE SPANISH SIDE,
ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A) TO RAISE THE LEGAL STANDING OF OUR PRESENT
RELATIONSHIP TO THE RANK OF A TREATY APPROVED BY THE
REQUISITE MAJORITY OF THE SENATE AND SIGNED BY THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES;

B) TO INCLUDE IN ANY ONE OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENTS
A PARAGRAPH THAT CLEARLY OUTLINES THE ORGANIC CONNECTION
THAT OUGHT TO EXIST BETWEEN OUR BILATERAL STRATEGIC PLANNING
AND THE GENERAL PLANNING OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE;

C) TO OBTAIN AS A COUNTERPART A VOLUME OF AID AIMED
AT THE PROCUREMENT OF HARDWARE, MILITARY OR ELSE, THAT
WILL AMOUNT AT THE LEAST TO ONE BILLION DOLLARS. THIS
SUM SHOULD BE OFFERED UNDER THE BEST POSSIBLE CONDITIONS,
NOT ONLY AS FAR AS THE INCREASE OF "GRANT AID" IS
CONCERNED BUT ALSO AS TO THE FINANCIAL TERMS AFFECTING
THE VOLUME OF LONG TERM CREDITS.

THE SPANISH DELEGATION, HEADED BY AMBASSADOR ROVIRA,
HAS BEEN WORKING DURING THE LAST WEEKS SO AS TO ACHIEVE
A NUMBER OF COUNTERPROPOSALS TO THE SEVEN PENDING
SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENTS, THE AMERICAN VERSION OF WHICH
HAD ALREADY BEEN HANDED OVER TO ITS MEMBERS. THE SPANISH
DELEGATION IS THEREFORE READY TO LEAVE FOR WASHINGTON,
TO IMMEDIATELY START THE "LAST", I HOPE, ROUND OF
NEGOTIATIONS.

IN THE MEANWHILE, I HAVE HAD IMPORTANT CONVERSATIONS
ON THIS MATTER WITH HIS MAJESTY THE KING AND WITH THE
PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT, MR. ARIAS NAVARRO. BOTH
THE KING AND THE PRESIDENT FULLY ENDORSE THIS NEGOTIATING
POSTURE. HIS MAJESTY THE KING INSISTS THAT WE ACHIEVE
SUCH AN IMPROVEMENT IN TERMS OF WORDING AND CONTENT OF
THE TREATY, AS HE CONSIDERS ESSENTIAL TO OVERCOME THE
SCARCE POPULARITY OF THE BASES, AS FAR AS THE SPANISH
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PUBLIC OPINION IS CONCERNED, TOGETHER WITH THE NUCLEAR
RISK WHICH IS CONSTRUED AS A PERMANENT PSYCHOLOGICAL
THREAT BY THE MASSES.

FURTHERMORE, THERE IS A WIDE-SHARED OPINION THAT THE
MONARCHY IMPLIES THE END OF INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION AND
THAT FROM NOW ON THE TREATMENT SPAIN WILL MEET WITH WILL
BE ONE OF EQUALITY, WITHOUT ANY DISCRIMINATION THAT MAY

HURT ITS NATIONAL PRIDE.

IT SEEMS UNNECESSARY TO POINT OUT TO YOU, MR. SECRETARY, THAT THE SPANISH ARMED FORCES CONSIDER EQUALLY INDISPENSABLE A MINIMUM LEVEL OF SECURITY GUARANTEE FOR OUR NATION IN THE EVENT OF SPAIN BEING ATTACKED PRECISELY ON THE JOINT FACILITIES AND, AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THEIR VERY EXISTENCE, ON OUR TERRITORY. THEY COMPLAIN AS WELL OF THE SMALL REAL VOLUME OF THE COUNTERPART THAT THE PREVIOUS AGREEMENTS HAVE IMPLIED AND WHICH HAS NOT YET SATISFACTORY MET THEIR PRESSING NEEDS OF MATERIEL AND MODERNIZATION.

I BELIEVE THAT THIS UNFAVOURABLE ATTITUDE OF MIND ON THE PART OF OUR HIGH MILITARY RANKS SHOULD BE DULY TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT SO AS TO OVERCOME IT WITH A TREATY LIKE THE ONE WE WANT TO AGREE UPON. OUR ARMED FORCES CONSTITUTE THE BEST GUARANTEE OF OUR INTERNAL POLITICAL STABILITY AND NO DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT WHATSOEVER COULD BE EFFECTIVELY CARRIED OUT WITHOUT ARMED FORCES FIRMLY COMMITTED TO MAINTAIN THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER. IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO ALLOW THEM TO REMAIN ANY LONGER PROFESSIONALLY DISAPPOINTED.

I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE ARE GREAT DIFFERENCES IN THE REMAINING SUBJECTS AS REFLECTED IN THE SEVEN PENDING AGREEMENTS. NEITHER DO I BELIEVE THERE ARE PROBLEMS WHICH CANNOT BE SOLVED WITH GOODWILL AND A DESIRE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, TWO SENTIMENTS -- GOODWILL AND UNDERSTANDING - OF WHICH I AM MYSELF FULLY INVESTED IN THIS IMPORTANT NEGOTIATION.

I AM, MR. SECRETARY AND DEAR FRIEND, CORDIALLY
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YOURS. KISSINGER

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